(XLIId YEAR.) THE (No. 2109.)

MARYLAND GAZETTE.

THURSDAY, JUNE 14, 1787.

To the PEOPLE of MARYLAND.

SOME time ago, it was asserted, by the enemies of Aristides, that an officer of the government has no right to meddle with public affairs, except those which relate to his office. This position has given way to another more plausible. "A judge should dedicate the time, not employed in the administration of justice, to the abstruse study of his profession. He cannot otherwise be qualified, in all cases, to give skilful decisions. And, if he suffer himself to be drawn into the agitations of public discussion, he cannot hold with a steady hand the scales of justice." Let us contrast this doctrine with a celebrated law of an ancient brave enlightened people, whom the *Publicolæ* of all succeeding times have affected to admire. In the republic of Athens, instituted for the preservation of equal rights, and approaching as nearly as one could wish, to a perfect democracy, the man, who remained inactive during a civil commotion, was liable to be punished as a traitor. This law was intended to make each citizen feel himself a guardian of the public weal. The bearing an high office in the state would have been the worst of all defences for a man arraigned under this law; as his situation would have naturally induced his fellow-citizens to expect from him more signal services. But, mercy on us! how culpable amongst certain enlightened moderns is a judge, for assuming the title and office of a guardian of the constitution, and for protesting against innovations in a news-paper. A man of common sense however, when the duty of this guardian leads him to preserve his fellow-citizens from the dangerous impression of pestilent doctrines, will admit, that news-papers are of all others the most proper and convenient vehicles. Let me here propose a few queries to Publicola.

Has he never applauded the former exertions of Aristides?

Has he never commended the author for his seasonable, disinterested, and useful publications?

Has he, on no occasion, advised him to employ his pen, for the public information?

Before Aristides opposed the late paper system, did Publicola ever condemn him for an improper disposal of his time?

But to descend to a more particular inquiry,—Did not Publicola, in the most flattering terms of approbation, speak to Aristides of a publication in the session of 1784, by which Aristides had the credit of having prevented a committee from bringing in their report for an emission of paper?

When Publicola, from being the decided enemy of paper, on a sudden became as decided an advocate, it struck many men with wonder and amazement. But who was there, that considered Publicola's propolition as a signal for changing his own opinion?

The man, my beloved countrymen, who makes truth his guide, and your substantial good his object, must ever raise up enemies to himself. Publicola has called me the *partisan of power*. He seems to have adopted the cant under the former government. What power is there, to which Aristides pays his court? Is he labouring to augment the authority of the governor and council? And if so, how is it they can require him? Is it then the senate, whose authority Aristides would erect on the ruin of your liberties? Has he made any attempt to extend *their* privileges, augment their power or increase the duration of their offices? Has he ever ascribed to them alone the power of making laws? He well knows that the senate cannot even propose a *money* bill, and that, whenever they venture to propose any other bill, which is rejected by the delegates, there is an end of the business. *They* never think of appealing to the people, and thereby compelling the delegates to adopt their proposal. He must then, after all, be a partisan for the power of the delegates. He has maintained indeed, that, in passing or rejecting bills the two branches are on terms of perfect equality; and that the members of each branch are at full liberty to exercise their own judgments. Examine well the position, and say whether it can justify the charge.—That the position has ever been denied, he presumes is not, because it would tend to the establishment of undue power; but because, if both branches, as to the ordinary affairs of government, are under the control and direction of the people, one of them must become far greater than the other. From the nature of things, the people must, in most cases, decide in favour of their immediate representatives. The consequence will be this. No man of superior worth will prefer a seat in the senate, degraded thus from its constitutional importance. One branch will in effect become supreme; and the state may be ruled by a few men, combining from interest or ambition. Reflecting maturely on these things, you will view Aristides in his true character, not the base sycophant, and partisan of power, but *the real and not pretended* assertor of equal rights,—the determined foe to arbitrary sway. As well might Publicola be compared to Catiline or Cethegus, as Aristides to Sir Robert Filmer or Judge Jeffries. But on no occasion, if even detected and fairly exposed, would Aristides descend to illiberal abuse.

What a wretched thing is man, under the dominion of malignant passions! Publicola has even made some malicious insinuations respecting the professional capacity of Aristides. To a charge of this kind it is difficult to answer, without deviating from the received rule of propriety. I am happy however, that to you, my fellow-citizens, I can safely make my appeal. To whom has Aristides behaved with the insolence of office? To whom has he denied, or wantonly, or unnecessarily, delayed, or made a shameful traffic of justice? On what occasion has he failed to maintain his dignity? Whilst dependent on a precarious annual vote, was he ever dependent in his opinions? or did he ever yield to the improper influence of leading members? He defies the world to shew one instance, where he has not bestowed a becoming attention to the matter before him, or where his judgement has been biassed by fear, affection, prejudice, or partiality. He has ever felt too much anxiety not to use all proper means of information, and, at this moment, he reflects with a conscious pride, that his decisions have been universally approved by the intelligent, the impartial, and the disinterested.

On no occasion have I undertaken a task more irksome than the present. When assertion is substituted for sound argument, and pointed authority; when that assertion is mingled with invective, and slander is vented in general terms; when at one moment Publicola maintains almost the doctrine of Aristides, and, at the next changes his ground; when he uses words suited to mislead, and then taxes Aristides with indecency and falsehood for not conceiving him aright; the labour of pursuing him appears almost endless.—There are some who will censure Aristides for honouring those disgusting effusions with his notice, whilst others will perhaps require a comment on every part.

It was impossible for common sense to consider the recent appeal of the delegates otherwise than as an attempt to force, at last, upon the senate a measure, which it had repeatedly and unanimously rejected. Aristides conceived every principle of policy and justice opposed to the plan; and the means of effecting it, should they succeed, appeared far worse than the measure itself. It was the general idea, that the sense of the people should be conveyed by written instruments or instructions. At the instance of several respectable men, he prepared a draught, expressing in the most decent respectful terms, a disapprobation of the plan, and defining the peoples general right of interference. Had there really existed a dispute between the two branches, necessarily and constitutionally to be decided by the people, it was certainly improper for either a senator or delegate to dictate either the form, or substance of the decision. The interference of Aristides, both as a matter of right and a matter of duty, was natural, proper, and consistent with his official character. But no sooner was his draught submitted to the public, than he was abused in news-papers, by Publicola, by the delegate of Anne-Arundel, by a scandalous anonymous letter writer, and by several others, not to be named. He then supported his opinions by a pamphlet, the success of which exceeded his most sanguine expectation. Trusting entirely to the force of his reasons, and taking up the question on the true construction of the constitution, he quoted no other book or authority of any kind. But, as many of you thought the opposite doctrine countenanced by the principles of several admired writers and patriots; and, as he had ever found authority more prevalent than reason, he determined to consult books, and quote authority. He had never perused the essays on government, of either Sydney, or Locke. From passages in Publicola's first address, he had supposed them advocates for the right of the people of England to control their representatives, and was utterly astonished to find both these writers pointedly in his own favour. He therefore published again, to detect misrepresentation, and to turn against his opponents those very authors, which vaguely they had quoted against him. Hence sprung the rage and clamour of Publicola. Like a foaming champion he has rushed forth, regardless of hazards, provided he could annoy the man who had neither wronged nor wished to wrong him, and who, at that time, was concerned for his delusion. He did not, however, think proper to answer the pamphlet of Aristides, nor the excellent essay in Mr. Goddard's paper. On a vain supposition, that Aristides had mistaken the meaning of * Sydney, he reproaches him with not understanding what he read. Examine the passage again.

"Every county does not make a distinct body, "having in itself a sovereign power, but is a mem- "ber of that great body, which comprehends the "whole nation. It is not therefore for Kent, or "Sussex, Lewes, or Maidstone, but for the whole "nation, that the members chosen in these places "are sent to parliament. And though it be fit for "them, as friends and neighbours, so far as may be "to hearken to the opinion of electors, for the in- "formation of their judgments, and to the end, "that what they shall say may be of more weight, "when every body is known not to speak his "own thoughts only, but those of a greater number "of men; yet they are not strictly and properly "obliged to give an account of their actions to any, "unless the whole body of the nation for which they "serve, and who are equally concerned in their de- "cisions, could be assembled *This being impracti- "cable*, the only punishment, to which they are "subject, if they betray their trust, is scorn, infamy, "hatred, and an assurance of being rejected, when "they shall again seek the same honour, &c."

I still maintain my construction to be right. When Mr. Sydney asserts, that a thing cannot be done, he has more sense than to suppose the people have a right to do it. Is there ought in this, or any other passage to shew, that, if a majority of counties and boroughs should join in one letter of instruction, the whole house of commons would be bound implicitly to obey it? Aristides might here retort; but every body knows that Publicola and he are both learned enough to understand plain language.

The dispute is not concerning the propriety of the peoples voluntarily offering their opinions, advice, or remonstrance. In times to come, perhaps these may operate as seasonable checks to arbitrary proceedings. When genuine, and fairly obtained, who is there will dare to despise them? When obtained in the manner lately essayed, on a subject, whereon the people in general never pretended to be competent to decide, who is there of a proper turn of mind that will hold himself bound to obey? Take the following passage from Mr. Hume, an author whose *political* essays have been ever greatly respected.

"The political controversy, with regard to in- "structions, is a very frivolous one, and can never "be brought to any decision, as it is managed by "both parties. The country party pretend not, "that a member is absolutely bound to follow in- "structions, as an ambassador, or general, is bound "by his orders, and that his vote is not to be re- "ceived in the house, but so far as it is conform- "able to them. The court party again pretend "not that the sentiments of *the people* ought to have "no weight with each member; much less that he "ought to despise the sentiments of *those* he repre- "sents, and with whom he is more particularly con- "nected. And if their sentiments be of weight, "why ought they not to express them? The "question then is only concerning the degrees of "weight, which ought to be placed on instruc- "tions, &c. &c."

I dare believe no man of the least consideration in England ever supposed, if instructions were not obeyed, that the people had a right to dissolve the government. The dispute in England is indeed frivolous; but our dispute is of a different cast; because Publicola expressly denies, that delegates or senators have a right to vote against them, or that the legislature can decline passing a law, dictated by a majority of counties. If you can adopt his sentiments, the consequence will be this. Either the disobedience of the legislature may produce convulsions in the state, or, by the instrumentality of the people, a single man of great popular talents, or a small combination of such men, may carry measures against the united wisdom of the legislature.

* *On the mistake occasioned by Publicola's first address, it was natural for Aristides to speak of Mr. Sydney, in terms of disapprobation. He was not fully apprized of Mr. Sydney's merit, but on finding he had wronged him, it was natural for a man of candour to make a concession, although he could address only the manes of the injured patriot. To acknowledge voluntarily an error, is the part of a liberal soul, and never yet dishonoured a character truly to be respected. But a proud, arrogant man, will commit an hundred wrongs, sooner than attone for one.*

That I may not again innocently be charged with fabricating assertions for Publicola, take his own words.

"The right of the people to instruct their dele-
"gates had always appeared to me an essential safe-
"guard of public liberty. I not only read of it, as
"a speculative opinion of individuals in their clo-
"sets, but history told me of its being actually ex-
"ercised in all governments, and all countries,
"where the people had a share in legislation by de-
"legates or representatives."

If his meaning be, that in all governments, the legislature of which consists either wholly, or in part, of representatives, laws have been passed agreeably to the commands of the people at large, precluding the deliberations of the legislature, I demand a few instances. Can he give any instances whatever, where, in matters of ordinary legislation the people have interfered by positive commands? Is there any instance in history, where the right of the people to lay their commands has been recognized by the legislature? I have before called on my opponents for any known book on the English constitution, or law, or even a resolve of the commons, giving to instructions of the people the force of absolute commands. I repeat my challenge; and I challenge them to produce any approved book, asserting, that, in a government by representation, where there is an express compact delegating the powers of legislation, without an express reservation in the people, the legislature is notwithstanding bound by the instructions or commands of the people.

The sentiments of writers respecting other governments, Aristides has indeed always thought perfectly immaterial, in the construction of our own solemn compact, or constitution. For, after all that has been written, there never was a question more simple than the following: *Can the people of Maryland rightfully interfere in matters of* * *ordinary legislation, and oblige each, or either branch, to pass a law contrary to their own judgments?* This question, in the outset I maintained to be determinable, only by the declaration of rights, and the form of government. These two instruments, taken together, constitute the great original compact, whereby the whole society has solemnly agreed, and interchangably plighted their faith, to be governed agreeably to its provisions. In this compact, nothing at all is said of instructions; but a good deal about *freedom of speach, liberty of the press, and right of petitioning.* Publicola does not assert, that it is impossible for the people, by any compact whatever, to delegate the whole power of legislation. He at last resorts to that shift, which I looked for in the beginning. It is *(so far as I understand)* to support his doctrine by a strained construction of the 4th article of the declaration.

"That all persons invested with the legislative
"or executive powers of government are the trustees
"of the public, and, as such, accountable for their
"conduct. Wherefore, whenever the ends of go-
"vernment are perverted, and public liberty mani-
"festly endangered, *and all other means of redress are*
"*ineffectual, the people may, and of right ought to re-*
"*form the old, or establish a new government.*"

The doctrine contained in this article, is evidently borrowed from Mr. Locke, who considers it as an express or implied article of all original compacts; whereas subsequent writers have more justly considered, that, for such infractions of the compact, by the government, the people are no longer bound; but may immediately exercise their power, in making a new compact. But, whether the right of interference, on the grand occasions mentioned in the article be founded on, or be superior to the compact, no writer of established reputation has ever construed it into a right of prescribing to the legislature, or considered the disobedience of the legislature to the mandate of the people as a perversion of the ends of government.

In support of my doctrines, I again refer you to Mr. Locke, whom Publicola has the modesty to tell me, I do not understand —

"When the society hath placed the legislative
"in any assembly of men, to continue in them, or
"their successors, with direction and authority for
"providing such successors: the legislative can
"never revert to the people whilst that government
"lasts; because, having provided a legislative with
"power to continue for ever, they have *given up*
"*their political power* to the legislative, and cannot
"resume it. But, if they have set limits to the
"duration of their legislative, and made this su-
"preme power in any person, or assembly, only
"temporary; or else when by the miscarriages of
"those in authority, it is forfeited; upon the for-
"feiture, or, at the determination of the time set,
"it reverts to the society, and the people have a
"right to act as supreme, and continue the legisla-
"tive in themselves; or erect a new form, or, under
"the old form, place it in new hands, as they
"think good."

I will now explicitly lay down the doctrine, from which I have never swerved, and which, I am persuaded, you will think resting on too solid foundations, to be shaken by the efforts of a man, who would make equal liberty consist in the peoples not being bound even by the government which they have chosen themselves.

1. When an actual original compact of government has been entered into by the people of any country, by themselves, or their representatives, chosen for that express purpose, that compact is binding, not only on the original framers, but on all persons, who shall thereafter become citizens of the state; every citizen has a right to have that compact inviolably preserved; and on all occasions, the true construction of it is to govern. All power indeed flows from the people; but the doctrine, that the power actually at all times resides in the people, is subversive of all government and law.

2. In Maryland, exists an original compact, containing a complete system of government, except where alterations have taken place, agreably to the regulations and principles, therein contained. This compact defines the rights of the people, and ascertains with precision, the powers delegated to the three several departments of government. Wherefore *during the existence of the said compact*, there can be rightfully exercised no powers whatever, except those therein mentioned and defined.

3. By this compact, the whole power of legislation, restricted by certain regulations, is committed to two distinct bodies of men, chosen at frequent stated periods. Without the consent of both these, no law can be framed; and either may reject that, which is proposed by the other.

4. The happiness of the whole, being the declared end of this compact; and the power of legislation being delegated to promote the general good; the legislature is bound, on all occasions, to respect the sentiments of the people; and so far as in wisdom they can, to gratify their wishes. But, on no occasion is the legislature precluded from deliberation, with respect to their own acts; or bound to pass laws contrary to its own judgment.

5. There is an express article of this compact, (and without it the right of the people would have been the same) that when the ends of government are perverted, and other means of redress are ineffectual, the people may either dissolve the present government, or suspend, and reform it. It was impracticable to enumerate cases, where the interference of the people will be proper. Of this the people are to judge. But, as such interference amounts to a dissolution, or suspension of the compact, it is not intended by the compact to take place, unless the ends of government be *really* perverted, their liberty *really* endangered, and all other means of redress *really* ineffectual. The people, nevertheless, or any part of them, may, at any time, disclose to the legislature their wants, wishes, and sentiments. That every miscarriage of the legislature, will authorise the interference of the people; was never intended, because most mistakes may be corrected by the successors of the legislature; but any measure that puts the liberties of the people to an immediate hazard, is a proper reason for interference.

6. The legislature being chosen by the people at stated periods, its whole proceedings are published, to the end, that the people may determine whether their trustees have merited a continuence in office.

7. Upon the whole therefore, when a matter, proposed by one branch, is rejected by the other, there is no express or implied provision, that upon an appeal by the proposing branch, the people may oblige the other branch to adopt the proposition. Such a provision would have been repugnant to the institution of two distinct branches, independent of each other, and acting as mutual checks. In a government by representation, where the powers of legislation are delegated, without any express reservation of the people, the legislative possesses the only power of making laws; and no law can be made by the people, without a suspension, or dissolution of the compact.

The essential difference between Aristides and Publicola is, therefore, only with respect to the weight of instructions. The former considers them merely on the footing of information, remonstrance, or advice; the latter as commands from a principal to his agent, or a master to his servant. Again Publicola not only considers them as positive commands; but thinks, in case of disobedience, the people, consistently with the true meaning of the 4th article of rights, may dissolve the compact. Aristides is of opinion, that, so long as the legislature keeps within the bounds of the constitution, the people ought not to dissolve the compact; and that no disobedience of the legislature can justify a dissolution of the government; unless such refusal shall manifestly spring from the corruption of their trustees, and manifestly endanger liberty, and circumstances will not admit the adoption of other means of redress. All these things must concur: otherwise, the dissolution of the government is a violation of the rights of every individual, not consenting to the measure. I will just put a single case, where an immediate suspension or dissolution would be proper--a certain prospect of a powerful invasion, and the legislature's declining all means of placing the state in a posture of defence.

Aristides conceives likewise, that a practice of frequent interference would totally destroy all energy in the government, and all spirit of obedience in the people; and that, in a little time, we should be in such a state of anarchy and confusion, as would be most favourable to insidious designs on our liberties. For these reasons, he has called the doctrine of his opponents, wicked, slavish, and absurd. The narrow limits of a news-paper will not permit him to go over the ground already trodden. He therefore refers to his former publications.

Publicola's supposition that the case of the United Netherlands, or of Switzerland, is in point, is truly admirable.

Aristides has again got hold of a passage in Mr. Sydney, to which he solicits your attention.

"I believe, that the powers of every county,
"city, and borough of England are regulated by
"the general law, to which they have all consented,
"and by which they are all made members of one
"political body. This obliges them to proceed
"with their delegates, in a manner, different from
"that which is used in the Netherlands, or in
"Switzerland. Amongst these, every province,
"city or canton, making a distinct body, indepen-
"dent from any other, and exercising the sovereign
"power within itself, looks upon the rest as allies,
"to whom they are bound only by such acts, as
"they themselves have made, and when any new
"thing, not comprehended in them, happens to
"arise, they oblige their delegates to give them an
"account of it, and retain the power of determin-
"ing those matters in themselves."

Mr. Sydney's plain meaning in this, and the former recited passage, which are connected in the original, is this. "A single state in the United
"Netherlands, or in Switzerland, being an entire
"distinct body, may bind its deputies, at a general
"meeting of the states. But a county in England
"cannot bind its representatives in parliament;
"because they are at the same time the representa-
"tives of the whole kingdom. Nor can these re-
"presentatives be bound by the whole body of the
"people; because the whole body of the people
"cannot be assembled to do any act under the
"known law or constitution.

Mr. Sydney might have added the following consideration, which from him might possibly have opened Publicola's eyes.—When a single state in the United Netherlands instructs its deputies, the instructions are given by the government of that state, to which these deputies are indeed strictly agents. If Publicola can shew any thing plausible with respect to these states, it must be, that in the domestic legislation of a single state, the people may bind their delegates by instructions. But if he could even shew this, I would then ask him. Do not the people exercise the right, by virtue of a particular law, or by an express article in the form of their government? At any rate, this simple distinction may be made. The deputies of the United States in the Netherlands are bound by the instructions of their respective *governments*, because such is their particular constitution or uniform custom. The legislature of Maryland, is not bound by instructions of the *people*, because the constitution does not authorise them; nor has the thing been ever yet practised.

Mr. Sydney, in the warmth of controversy, has dropt some general expressions, which Publicola has gathered as the most precious pearls. Mr. Sydney was contending against Sir Robert Filmer, a man wicked enough to assert, that things have a divine right, that the people must always submit, and that government is, in no case answerable to the people. Mr. Sydney contends, like a *true patriot* that all government springs from the people, and is instituted for the general good. What! (says he in effect) shall the whole people be considered as the property of one man, or set of men, and made for their use? Say rather, that they are the servants of the people. I take what servant I please, &c. &c. &c.

The whole doctrine which I have all along endeavoured to inculcate, is reducible to this single proposition. In every free government, founded on a real compact, neither the governing nor the governed, are to be considered on the footing of either master or slave; they both are possessed of certain rights, which ought to be held inviolable; and the true spirit of the compact must, on all occasions, be considered the law of the land.

Would to Heaven, my beloved countrymen, it had fallen to the lot of a man, more independent in his circumstances, to become the marked object of a base revenge, for inculcating principles essential to the happiness of society. Deserted by the men, from whom I *reasonably expected* support, I sincerely wish, that no future occasions may require similar exertions. The sense of duty must indeed ever impel me to act the part of a zealous and watchful guardian;—but the small services, I have hitherto been able to perform, have been attended with sacrifices greater than, under all circumstances, my duty demanded.

ARISTIDES.

Annapolis, June 9, 1787.

[*To be continued.*]

To DAN. of ST. THO. JENIFER, Esquire.

SIR,

WITH your usual prostituted effrontery you have asserted, that you *neither saw, or ever heard of the sales* lodged in the auditor's office, and referred to by him, if they be different from those referred to by you. This assertion you make in the most public manner, as if you were determined to substantiate your own corruption and duplicity. To prove the falsity of it, I need only refer to my former publications in this Gazette,* where *this same original sale*

* *By matters of ordinary legislation are meant laws, providing for the support of government, the administration of justice, the correction of manners, protection of property, regulation of commerce and finance; in short all laws respecting domestic concerns, which the constitution authorises.*

* *4th January, and 12th April, last.*

was mentioned as conclusive and undeniable evidence, that lot No. 5 of Nanticoke manor, was purchased by Dr. Wheeland. That you saw and examined it when before the executive in July last, any of that honourable board can testify. This sale and the plots of the manor before referred to, (which you affect to consider as *my bare word*) contain the most clear and unequivocal testimony of your deviation, from the line of your duty, in directing a resale of the manor. Yet notwithstanding this irrefragable proof, you rely upon unsatisfactory extracts, and certificates, which prove nothing as to the matter in question. Such is your futility in mean evasion and subterfuge. It would be folly in the extreme, to expect truth from an impostor, with whom all is shuffling, artifice and prevarication. It might as well be expected that "the serpent should abandon the characteristic obliquity of his motion for the direct flight of an arrow," as that you should be actuated by a decent regard to truth, justice or integrity.

Having replied particularly, as well to your observations on the sale to Mr. Long, as to others released by you, † a recapitulation here is unnecessary. The facts on which my arguments were founded being true, my inferences cannot be fairly controverted. Your arbitrary and injudicious conduct in releasing those purchasers, has been fully exposed; and yet you attempt to justify this management in the same style of characteristic effrontery, that you have endeavoured to support the rectitude of the *Intendant's exchange of certificates*. Is it possible that you can be so silly as to expect that the loss occasioned by resales *directed by you*, and which you might have prevented, can be attributed to any one but yourself? Are you weak and vain enough to flatter yourself that by your malevolent fabrications you can poison or debauch the opinion of one discerning, respectable citizen?—It is not incumbent upon me to continue to reply to the absurd repetitions of a man, whose character *has sunk below the reach of infamy*.

G. DUVALL.

June 11, 1787.

† *This Gazette, 26th October, and 4th January, last.*

LONDON, *March* 30.

AT the present period, when the maratime powers of Europe found the prosperity of their states on the basis of commerce, each of them strives to incline the balance in their own favour.—Russia (too high to the northward to send her fleets to India by the Cape of Good Hope, and so enter into a competition with the nations more favourably situated) is opening herself a route formerly known to the Romans and the Genoese. She makes her ships descend by the Volga to the Caspian Sea, and her merchants endeavour to draw towards them the merchandise of Persia, and the northern provinces of the Mogul empire

The beautiful silks of the Guilan have already become the objects of their speculation, and the empress Catherine II. will, doubtless, on the first revolution, become mistress of those rich countries.

On the other side, England, France and Holland, provide Europe with the productions of the East. The English, above all, having formed in Bengal a Kingdom of a vast extent, are become, so to speak, the masters of this commerce, and dispute with all other nations the glory of navigation!

In this state of things, Egypt without arts, without a marine, and groaning under the tyranny of four and twenty beys, is unable to derive any advantage from her situation, or to enter into competition with the Europeans. Her ignorant mariners no longer navigate to India; scarcely do they dare to make a circuit of the Red Sea. Their most distant expeditions are an annual voyage to Moka. Their ships, a kind of brigantine ill equipped, load there the coffee of Yemen, the perfumes of Arabia, the pearls of the Baharem isles, the muslins and the linens of Bengal, which are brought them by the Benicans.

Even this limited commerce promises them great advantages. The coffee which they buy at eight sols French (or four-pence English) a pound, at Moka, they will sell at Cairo for thirty. This article alone is an annual object of eleven millions of livres. They export the principal part of it to Constantinople, into Greece, to Marseilles, and to the coast of Syria. The remainder is consumed in the country.

Some of our East-India ships have already attempted to deprive them of this branch of commerce; but the Egyptians complained to the government, and strenuously opposed them.

When Ali Bey had established the safety of the caravans, and laid open Egypt to the foreign markets, some English ships anchored at Suez, laden with Bengal stuffs, of which they made a very advantageous sale. Political views have again prohibited us from carrying on this traffic, and the Egyptians have retained possession of it. But, without marine, what can a people do against the European squadrons? They must invariably, sooner or later, submit to receive from foreigners those precious effects which they export at such heavy expence from Moka, and which can be furnished them much cheaper.—Besides, means might be found to obtain from them the permission of undertaking this lucrative conveyance.

BOSTON, *May* 19.

A letter from a gentleman at Weathersfield, (Connecticut) received by last evening's mail, has the following article.—"Reports say, that two of your insurgents have been down on the back of our state, and enlisted a number of men for their service.—I suppose the object is to prevent the execution of those condemned. The governor and council have sent to examine the affair, and will prevent their doing any damage."

May 28. A gentleman who arrived in town on Friday last from Orange in the county of Hampshire, informs us, that the following letter was received by the person to whom it was directed, on Wednesday last, viz.

"Hinsdale, May 21, 1787, 12 o'clock,

"Brother,

"I would have you acquaint my family, that I am taken prisoner by Shays's men—They tell me I must go to Head-Quarters—where that is I know not. From your Brother. JOSEPH METCALF.

"Mr. Savel Metcalf, Orange."

Mr. Metcalf was on his return home from a journey when he was captured—The night following which, the house of *Medad Pomroy* Esq; in Warwick, was attacked, and himself made prisoner, by an armed body of insurgents commanded by one Smith, of New-Salem, late a lieutenant colonel of the militia, who previous to his departure left the following with Mr. *Pomroy's* lady, viz.

"This are to certify the commonwealth of Massachusetts, that the persons now taken are to be reserved as hostages to secure the life of Jason Parmenter and Henry M'Cullock who are condemned to death by said state, and to assure you that if the above persons are put to death by said state, that the persons taken as above shall be put to death in the same manner, as soon as the news arrives, and that without delay, and therefore pray you not to be deceived, but pray to save life."

Our informant, who is brother to one of the gentlemen made prisoner, says further, that on Tuesday last they were seen to pass through Brattleborough, Vermont, guarded by six of the rebels.

WORCESTER, *May* 20.

Extract of a letter from Warwick, dated May 15.

"On one morning last week, the following lines, together with a coffin, in which they were laid, were found by the house of Dr. Medad Pomeroy.—The author is not yet certainly known.

(Letter for letter.)

"Now I have Come you must dy
and in my Bowels you Shall ley
and if it is true What God he says
youl be a Pray to Daniel Shays
But before the Day in June
youl think your in an air by Lune
But Whether your Go tto heven or hell
I am Shur I Cannot Stay to Tell."

Since the above transaction, it is reported, that the rebels, by force of arms, have seized Mr. Pomeroy, together with Mr. Metcalf of Orange, and carried them off, as hostages for those under sentence of death.

NEW-YORK, *May* 31.

Extract of a letter from a gentleman in Hartford, to his friend in Albany, dated the 18th instant.

"Yesterday morning an express arrived with dispatches for his excellency the governor, from brigadier-general Swift, at Sharon, advising that many of the inhabitants of that part of the state were embodying themselves in order to join the insurgents of Massachusetts; that 100 had enlisted in one town; and that, although he had been personally among them, he had not been able to prevent their pursuing these measures.—His excellency immediately communicated these dispatches to the honourable house of assembly, who thereupon appointed a committee, to be joined by another from the council, to report to the house what measures would be most proper for them to adopt.—In the afternoon the committee brought in their report, which was agreed to by the house.—The substance of which was, that some proper person be appointed, forthwith to repair to that part of the state which borders on Massachusetts, and there with general Swift, to inquire into the occasion of this insurrection, and to pursue such measures as they shall think most proper for its suppression, and the restoration of the public peace. Colonel Canfield, (a member of assembly) is appointed, and I have no doubt, from his and general Swift's characters, but the most prudent, salutary and decisive measures will be adopted.—The colonel set off this morning for Sharon.

Annapolis, June 12, 1787.

THE subscribers have a pretty general assortment of dry goods still on hand that they will sell at wholesale or retail, for specie, bank notes, Morris's notes, state or continental state money, equal to specie, and any kind of certificates liquidated on account of this state at their passing value. They being very much in want of money, and very desirous of settling and closing the whole of their business, do most earnestly request all those indebted to them speedily to make payment, a delay of which will, from necessity, compel measures very disagreeable. The whole of the goods they now have may be had, by taking them altogether, upon very advantageous terms to the purchaser.

tf THOMAS and BENJAMIN HARWOOD.

To be SOLD, at PUBLIC SALE, agreeable to the last will and testament of Jacob Waters, deceased; the following parcels of land lying and being in Montgomery county, and nearly adjoining to each other,

ONE parcel of land called the Reserve on the William and John, containing 139 acres, the other called the Susanna, containing 50 acres; the aforesaid two parcels of land will be sold by the executrix, on the second Saturday in July next, if fair, if not the first fair day after, Sunday excepted, at the late dwelling of the aforesaid deceased, on the Head of Magothy.

w4 ELIZABETH WATERS, executrix.

West river, June 6, 1787.

Just imported, by the subscriber, in the ship WILLIAM and MARY, captain DODDS, and the HANBURY, captain DENNIS, and to be sold for cash or tobacco,

OSNABRIG of all sorts, brown rolls, Irish linens, and sheeting from 10d to 4/9 currency per yard, dowlas, brown and striped holland, a good assortment of jeans, humhums, muslins, muslinets, calicoes and chintzes, coarse huckaback and diaper, womens stays, combs, India persian and black a-la-mode silks, *real bandanna* handkerchiefs, linen and silk ditto, osnabrig and shoe thread, white and coloured thread, sewing silk of all colours; mens and boys fine and coarse hats; boots and shoes of the best kind, coarse mens and boys ditto; thread stockings, nutmegs, cloves, mace, ginger and pepper, a variety of cutlery, fashionable buttons and common ditto, ribands of the newest fashion, stuffs, fowling pieces, powder and shot, 10d, 20d, 3d and 6d nails, stock locks, lithes and sickles, double and single Gloucester cheese.

1 3w JOSEPH COURT.

N.B. The ship William and Mary, captain Dodds, lying at Selby's Landing, takes in tobacco consigned to Messieurs Eden and Court at seven pounds sterling per ton; those gentlemen that choose to favour them with their consignments may be supplied with any of the above articles at a very low advance, by applying to the subscriber at West river. J. C.

Baltimore, June 14, 1787.

ROUSSELL's TAVERN.

(United States Arms.)

THE subscriber respectfully begs leave to inform his friends and the public in general, that he has opened a TAVERN, in Gay-street, at the house where Mr. William Page used to keep, at the sign of the Arms of the United States of America, and flatters himself that he will be able to give full satisfaction to those gentlemen who please to honour his house with their custom, as he has laid in a supply of liquors of the best quality. Ladies and gentlemen travellers can be commodiously lodged at his house, and their horses will be taken great care of, as he is provided with hay and oats of the best quality.

w3 LOUIS ROUSSELL.

June 4, 1787.

ON the petition of John Rawlings, a prisoner in Cæcil county, to the chancellor, praying the benefit of the act of assembly, entitled, An act respecting insolvent debtors, notice is hereby given to the creditors of the said John Rawlings, that the twenty-fourth day of July next is appointed for a meeting of the said creditors at the chancery office, in the city of Annapolis, and that a trustee or trustees will be appointed on that day in their behalf, according to the directions of the said act; and it is ordered that this notice be published six weeks in the Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser and Maryland Gazette.

Test. SAMUEL HARVEY HOWARD, Reg. Cur. Can.

Charles county, to wit: June 4, 1787. THEN came William Leigh before me the subscriber, one of the justices for the county aforesaid, and made oath on the Holy Evangels of Almighty God, that he borrowed of captain George Dent, somewhere about the year 1768 or 1769, fifty pounds sterling, and for which sum he gave bond, and for which bond he had paid interest to the amount of twenty-eight pounds currency, from the time of giving said bond until the year 1774, when he then paid off the said Dent all the principal, in money he borrowed of the loan office in the year 1774, to wit, two hundred and twenty-two dollars and two ninths of a dollar, for which the said Dent gave this deponent a receipt which he has lost or mislaid, the said Dent alleging at the time that he could not find the bond, or that it would take him some time to find it, but said the receipt would be good against it.

J. PARNHAM.

P. S. I have lately applied and cannot obtain my bond, nor even a state of the dates thereof.

W. L.

SIX DOLLARS REWARD.

June 5, 1787.

RAN away from the subscriber, living in Charles county, near Newport, on the 30th day of May last, a young negro man by the name of SAM, five feet eight or nine inches high, slender made, of a yellowish complexion, and rather a silly countenance; had on and took with him an old parsons grey country milled coat, trimmed with black, an old country wove jacket and breeches, a pair of yellow cotton overalls or trousers, two new osnabrig shirts, an old Irish linen ditto, and a flopped hat; he formerly belonged to Mr. Gilbert Hamilton Smith, of Anne-Arundel county, and may have probably directed his course to that neighbourhood, or, as he has been used to going by water, may attempt to pass for a free man and get on board some vessel. Whoever will apprehend him and lodge him safe in gaol shall be entitled to the above reward, and to reasonable charges if brought home.

tf JOHN PARNHAM.

Monday, St. Mary's, June 22, 1787.

STOLEN, on Sunday night the 11th inſtant, a likely handſome ſorrel HORSE, the property of Philip B. Key, Eſq; near ſixteen hands high, ſwitch mane and tail, a ſtar in his forehead, with two remarkable ſpots of white hair, one on the pole of the head, the other on the top of the withers, as if made by a collar, trots and paces well, and in very excellent order. Alſo a new portmanteau ſaddle without the pad, and a double reined bridle. The perſon ſtealing him anſwers to the name of TOM, a ſhort black fellow with a down look, a ſlave, but will probably endeavour to paſs for a free man. Two half joes will be given to any perſon apprehending and ſecuring both, or three pounds for either, on application at Chaptico, or the ſubſcriber in Leonard-town.

PHILIP B. KEY.

1

SCHEME
OF A
BOOK LOTTERY.

1 prize of	100 dollars is	100 dollars.
1 do.	52 do.	52 do.
8 do.	25 do.	200 do.
162 do.	4 do.	648 do.
172 prizes.		1000 do.
500 tickets at 2 dol. each		1000 do.

The ſubſcriber having altered the ſcheme of his lottery as above, hopes it will meet with the patronage of the public.

The drawing will commence immediately the tickets are ſold, under the inſpection and by direction of Meſſieurs Wallace and Muir, who will ſee the prizes delivered as ſoon as drawn.

Tickets to be had of the ſubſcriber, at his ſtore, in Church-ſtreet, Annapolis.

STEPHEN CLARK.

N. B. Each adventurer to have his choice of goods in the ſtore, agreeable to the amount of the prize drawn againſt the number of his ticket.

5

Annapolis, January 1, 1787.

ALL perſons indebted to the eſtate of colonel William Hyde, late of this city, deceaſed, are requeſted to make immediate payments; as there are ballances remaining in the hands of ſeveral of the late ſheriffs, in order that it may be more convenient to thoſe on the eaſtern ſhore, the ſubſcriber will authoriſe ſome perſon to receive the ſums due from them at the general court in April next, when it is hoped they will pay; thoſe on this ſide the bay are requeſted to make payment to the ſubſcriber; thoſe who have claims againſt the ſaid eſtate are deſired to bring them in legally proved, to

WILLIAM GOLDSMITH, adminiſtrator of William Hyde.

N. B. Colonel Hyde in his life-time lent ſeveral books and other things which have not been returned, and as ſome of the books were borrowed by colonel Hyde, I ſhould be much obliged to thoſe who have them to return them to me,

14

W. G.

FIVE POUNDS REWARD.

Upper Marlborough, Prince-George's county, September 12, 1786.

RAN away from the ſubſcriber, on the 4th of June, a negro man named CHARLES, twenty-five years of age, a ſhort thick fellow, about five feet ſix inches high, has a ſhort flat noſe, a very buſhy head of hair, thick lips, with a lump on the upper one, he is a handy fellow, and works well at the whip-ſaw; had on when he went away his common working dreſs; I have reaſons to believe he has other cloaths with him, but cannot particularly deſcribe them, therefore he probably may change his apparel. As I purchaſed him of Notley Young, Eſq; on Patowmack, I apprehend he is lurking about in that neighbourhood. Whoever takes up and ſecures the ſaid fellow, ſo that his maſter may get him again, ſhall receive if above ten miles from home thirty ſhillings, if out of the county forty ſhillings, and if out of the ſtate the above reward, including what the law allows, paid by

22

WILLIAM BOWIE, 3d.

Final Settlements for Sale.

ANY gentleman that wants to purchaſe Final Settlements of any kind, may be ſupplied on reaſonable terms. Credit will be given on approved ſecurity. Letters addreſſed to the ſubſcriber, at Philadelphia, will be duly attended to.

4

HUGH PATTON.

TO BE SOLD,

A healthy young Negro Wench, With a Male Child in arms. Inquire

7

of the Printers.

Treaſury of the United States,

MAY 14th, 1787.

THE commiſſioners of the board of treaſury of the United States, give notice, That on the 21ſt day of September next, will be expoſed to ſale, at the place where the United States in Congreſs may hold their ſeſſions—The following townſhips and lots of lands in the weſtern territory, which were ſurveyed laſt year, under the direction of the geographer-general of the United States, viz.

FIRST RANGE.

No. 3, containing 4,350 acres.

SECOND RANGE.

No. 1, containing	1,386.
2,	5,434.
3,	8,598.
5,	21,139.
6,	23,040.
7,	23,040.
8,	22,886.
9,	18,644½.

THIRD RANGE.

No. 1, containing	6,596.
2,	21,797.
3,	14,482.
5,	23,040.
6,	23,040.
7,	23,040.
8,	23,040.
9,	23,040.
10,	23,040.
11,	23,040.
12,	23,040.

FOURTH RANGE.

No. 1, containing	4,574.
2,	21,350.
3,	23,040.
7,	23,040.
8,	23,040.
10,	23,040.
11,	23,040.
12,	23,040.
13,	23,040.

The admirable quality of theſe lands, and the favourable climate in which they are ſituated, are too well known to need deſcription. The conditions of ſale are as follow, viz.

1ſt. The townſhips or fractional parts of townſhips throughout the different ranges, will be ſold either entire or in lots in alternate order; that is to ſay, where a townſhip or fractional part of a townſhip is ſold entire, the next will be ſold in lots, agreeably to the ordinance of the 20th of May, 1785.

2d. The lands are not to be ſold under a dollar per acre, payable in gold or ſilver, or any of the ſecurities of the United States.

3d. The purchaſers are to pay the charges of ſurvey, which are to be eſtimated at thirty-ſix dollars in ſpecie, or certificates as aforeſaid for every townſhip; and in the ſame proportion for fractional parts of townſhips or lots; this payment to be made at the ſales, and in caſe of failure, the lands to be again expoſed to public auction.

4th. One third of the purchaſe money is to be paid at the time of purchaſe; and the remaining two thirds in three months after the date of the ſale; on which payment a certificate ſhall be given by the treaſurer of the United States, which ſhall entitle the perſon to whom the ſame is given to receive from the commiſſioners of this board a proper title; provided, that if the ſecond payment is not made at the time above ſpecified, the firſt payment is to be forfeited, and the land on which the forfeit accrued be again ſet up for ſale.

5th. The plots of the townſhips will be marked by ſubdiviſions into lots of one mile ſquare or 640 acres, and numbered from 1 to 36; and out of each townſhip Lot No. 8, 11, 26, and 29, are to be reſerved for future ſale; Lot No 16 for the maintainance of public ſchools within the reſpective townſhips, and out of every fractional part of a townſhip, as many lots of the ſame number as ſhall be found therein, There will alſo be reſerved to the United States, one third part of all gold and ſilver, lead and copper mines.

Proper maps and deſcriptions of the lands will be exhibited at the time and place of ſale, and the ſales will continue from day to day until the whole are ſold.

SAMUEL OSGOOD,
WALTER LIVINGSTON,
ARTHUR LEE,
} Commiſſioners.

3

Baltimore, May 21, 1787.

NOTICE is hereby given, that agreeable to an act of Aſſembly, for eſtabliſhing an Inſurance Fire Company in Baltimore-town, that the ſubſcription is full, and that the 2d Monday in July next, at the court-houſe, is the day and place appointed for chooſing of Directors or Truſtees of the ſaid company, of which all perſons intereſted are to take notice.

3 (6w)

WILLIAM SMITH,
PHILIP ROGERS,
JOHN MERRYMAN.

THE COLUMBIAN MAGAZINE,

For September, October, November, December, and January, Price 1/10 each, to be SOLD at the Printing-Office, where SUBSCRIPTIONS, at 20/ a Year, are taken in.

8

Board of Treaſury of the United States,

May 17th, 1787.

The United States in Congreſs having directed the Commiſſioners of this Board, to take the moſt effectual meaſures, for ſettling the accounts of the ſecret and commercial Commitees of Congreſs.

Notice is hereby given,

THAT the accounts of the ſaid Committees, having been arranged, as far as the materials furniſhed by the reſpective parties, will enable them to proceed in that buſineſs; it has become neceſſary, to adopt immediate meaſures for cloſing theſe tranſactions. All perſons therefore, who have received public money from the general treaſury, in purſuance of engagements entered into with the ſecret and commercial Committees of Congreſs, and who have not accounted for the ſame, are hereby required, to render and adjuſt their reſpective accounts within three months, computed from the preſent date; at the expiration of which time, proceſs will be commenced againſt ſuch as neglect this notice.

SAMUEL OSGOOD,
WALTER LIVINGSTON,
ARTHUR LEE,
} Commiſſioners.

3

April 16, 1787.

RAN away laſt night, from the ſubſcriber, living in Charles county, a negro man named WALLEY, a tall ſleander made fellow, about ſix feet and an inch high, aged about 35 years, he is not country born, ſpeaks bad Engliſh ſo that it can be hardly underſtood; had on when he went away a white fearnought jacket, a pair of white nap cotton breeches, and oſnabrig ſhirt, and has taken with him many other cloaths, which I cannot deſcribe, as he is remarkably fond of dreſs. Alſo went away at the ſame time, a negro woman named NELL, aged about fifty years, ſhe is a low ſquat wench. Alſo took with them two horſes, one a light ſorrel, about fourteen hands and an inch high, branded on the near buttock W. the other a dark bay, about fourteen hands high, and a ſmall crop on the end of one of his ears. Whoever takes up the ſaid negroes and horſes ſhall receive for each of the horſes, two dollars if brought home, and eight dollars for each negro, paid by the ſubſcriber.

6

WILLIAM M. WILKINSON.

SIX GUINEAS REWARD.

Upper Marlborough. February 23, 1787.

WENT away from the ſubſcriber, the 25th of January laſt, a negro man named JOE, forty-five years old, about five feet eight or nine inches high, has loſt ſome of his upper fore teeth, and the ſight of one of his eyes a little injured; had on a double breaſted jacket of coarſe blue cloth, with a flaſh ſleeve and large black horn buttons, breeches of blue figured pluſh, and country made ſhoes and ſtockings, and took other cloaths with him; he paſſed South river ferry ſoon after his eſcape, and ſaid he belonged to Mr. Ralph Forſter, of Hill's Delight, and was going home; he is well acquainted with the negroes of that neighbourhood, Annapolis and Baltimore, carries razors, combs and powder bag, and is fond of acting as a barber, has been uſed to waiting on gentlemen, and is fond of liquor. Any perſon ſecuring ſaid negro, ſo that I get him again, ſhall receive if taken twenty miles from home two guineas, if forty miles four guineas, and if out of the ſtate ſix guineas, and all reaſonable charges if brought home.

10

D. MAGRUDER.

Annapolis, May 23, 1787.

JUST IMPORTED,

In the Britannia Yacht, captain Hunter, from London, and to be SOLD, on the moſt reaſonable terms, for caſh or country produce, by

JOHN PETTY, and Co.

At their Stores in Annapolis and Port-Tobacco,

A LARGE and general aſſortment of DRY GOODS, ſuitable for the preſent ſeaſon. Alſo a quantity of Porter, Dorcheſter Ale, Sherry, very old Mountain, and Porte Wine, in bottles. They have likewiſe for ſale, a complete iron Crane, made to purchaſe two tuns, well calculated for a public wharf or warehouſe.

4

May 3, 1787.

FOR SALE,

At the Queen Tree, Patuxent river, for caſh or any kind of country produce,

A LARGE quantity of fence-rails, conſiſting of oak, cheſnut and yellow aſh; they will be ſold at the moſt reaſonable rates.

w 6

4

JOHN LUCAS.

Juſt Publiſhed, and to be SOLD, at the Printing-Office, Annapolis, and at the Poſt-Office, Baltimore, Price 7/6,

THE

8

LAWS

Of November Seſſion, 1786.

ANNAPOLIS: Printed by F. and S. GREEN, at the POST-OFFICE, Francis-Street.